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ABSTRACT

This paper highlights three programs that prepare culturally sensitive teachers to meet the needs of minority students. The University of Hawaii's Preservice Education for Teachers of Minorities has a partnership with the Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate private school for children of Hawaiian ancestry. The school brings new culturally sensitive curricula and teaching strategies to its students, recruiting and educating candidates who make long-term commitments to teaching in their home communities where there is a significant teacher turnover in schools with high concentrations of underachieving minority children. In New Zealand, teachers must be taught Maori customs, norms, and ways of teaching in order to work with Maori students. Since the 1970s, there has been a proliferation of Maori education programs within the public schools as New Zealand moves toward the ideal of biculturalism. However, Maori students are still disadvantaged by low expectations and by being sorted, classified, and evaluated. The Anangu Teacher Education Program is a community-based program through the University of South Australia's Faculty of Aboriginal and Islander Studies. The program prepares Anangu students to become independent classroom teachers in their own community schools and part of the decision-making body controlling education in their communities. (Contains 23 references.) (SM)

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Comparative Models

for

Preparing Teachers of Minorities

by

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and

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INTRODUCTION

When children and their teachers do not share common experiences or hold common beliefs about the meaning of experience, there tends to be misunderstanding in culturally encoded interchanges. In this environment teachers fail to appreciate similarities and differences between their understanding of the world and that of children who come from different cultural backgrounds. These teachers then become victims of their own past experience and their own naive, culture-bound conceptions. On the other hand, cultural competence empowers teachers to manage classrooms more effectively. Prevention of school failure for children who are culturally and/or linguistically diverse requires cross cultural competency on the part of teachers. Teaching consists of meaning making episodes in which teachers and their students create common interpretations of events and ways of representing these interpretations. Only when the meaning of teachers' and students' behavior is mutually intelligible does teaching support learning. Student achievement improves markedly when children are not required to renounce their cultural heritage and when their language and culture are perceived as equally valued and powerful (Bowman, 1994).

If current trends continue, the cultural mismatch between teachers and their students will grow only worse. At the same time that the minority student population is burgeoning, the number of teachers from these same minority groups is falling dramatically. In 1980 at least 12 percent of our nations' teachers were classified as minority. By 1999 that percentage had dropped significantly. Teacher credentialing tests, which tend to prevent many prospective minority teachers from entering the teaching profession, and other attractive professional options for promising minority students have contributed to lowering the number of teachers from underrepresented backgrounds (Nieto, 1996). As we move into the 21st century, almost 40 percent of all school-age children will come from minority groups while, if the trend continues, 95 percent of the teaching force will be white.

The great differences in race, socioeconomic group, and language background between American students and their teachers often lead to diminished expectations and different educational experiences for children who are unlike their teachers. Responses from novice teachers indicate that many teachers, early in their careers, identify problems of student learning and achievement as consequences of children's lives beyond the school which are outside of the purview of teachers and formal education (Gomez, 1994). If all children are to be served effectively and fairly, the education community is obligated to address this critical problem of low expectations for students who are culturally different from their teachers.

In case studies conducted by Nieto (1996), the most important attribute which students looked for in their teachers was caring. Students remembered teachers best who affirmed them through their concerns, their culture, and/or their language in case after case. Such factors as how well teachers prepare for their classes, the efforts they exert to make their classes interesting, the patience they show toward their students, and the time they give to their students were cited by students in their evaluation of teachers' level of caring. Teachers who were most successful were those who demonstrated their sincere concern by taking time with their students and by using the backgrounds of their students in teaching them and communicating with them.

For educators to achieve cross cultural competence and empathy with the students they serve, subjective familiarity with the culture(s) of their students is required. The best way to accomplish this is by living the culture(s) of students through field experiences which include cultural immersion. Only when educators share the feelings of culturally different students from their insider perspectives can they empathize with them and gain a full understanding of their needs and how to meet those needs. Case studies and role playing of persons from different cultures also can have a positive effect on educator attitudes toward students who are culturally different. For example, subjects develop more

positive racial attitudes when they take the role of people from other racial groups (Stephan, 1985).

Individual learning and teaching styles, which are not indicative of general learning ability or memory, develop from early and continuing socialization patterns. The messages conveyed by teachers are greatly affected by the teachers' cultural heritage, which is often different from that of their students. The learning style of teachers also is reflected in their teaching behaviors. Teachers, if they are to serve all students well, should be aware of their own learning and teaching styles; and they should be able to identify the learning styles of students (Gollnick & Chinn, 1994).

The complex relationship among student learning style, instructional methods, and cultural background of the teacher, although not fully understood, is of critical importance. Culture shapes cognition, behavior, and education. The ways in which we think, interact with others, learn, and transmit knowledge are affected by our culture (Collier & Hoover, 1987). Cognitive development, which is closely intertwined with cultural development, is affected by social and environmental factors which influence cognitive and affective preferences (Hernandez, 1989).

Effective educators in multicultural settings need to recognize that cultural differences often result in cultural discontinuity between the student and the school. The cultures of students of color often are incongruous with expected white middle-class beliefs, values, and norms of schools. These cultural differences, particularly differences between the approaches to learning for mainstream and diverse students, are major contributors to the lower academic achievement of many minority students. Educators must understand that culture and ethnicity are frameworks for the development of learning-styles preferences and that additional factors, such as social class and gender, play a significant role in mediating cultural predilections (Irvine & York, 1995).

Gollnick and Chinn (1994) point out that most traditional instruction is provided in a field-independent mode, which favors the learning style of male students who are

European or Asian. When field-sensitive students do not work well independently or do not respond quickly enough to questions, teachers often become frustrated. Instead, educators should review their own teaching style, which may not be compatible with the learning styles of students who are having learning difficulties.

Educators, including those who prepare teachers, should become familiar with the research which documents the effectiveness of culturally sensitive instruction. The most frequently cited positive example of culturally sensitive instruction is the Kamehameha Elementary Education Project (KEEP), which increased the academic achievement of low-achieving Native Hawaiian students. KEEP has provided valuable evidence that modifying instruction to be compatible with the culture of the students can improve student learning. Educators must internalize the knowledge that varied and culturally sensitive instructional methods will improve the school success of diverse student populations and can benefit all students, regardless of their sociocultural background (Educational Research Service, 1991).

In teacher preparation programs around the world teacher educators are attempting to recruit and train future teachers who understand, appreciate, and integrate into their professional practice the cultures of their students. This paper highlights three such programs in Hawaii, New Zealand, and Australia which prepare culturally sensitive teachers to meet the needs of their minority students.

Preservice Education for Teachers of Minorities

Preservice Education for Teachers of Minorities (PETOM), a program funded jointly by the University of Hawaii College of Education (UHCOE) and the Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate (KS/BE) has been able to break the mold of traditional preservice education. PETOM has been able to break with the standard model of teacher education because it is a unique partnership -- a joint venture between the UHCOE and the KS/BE, a private institution whose mission is to educate children of Hawaiian ancestry. PETOM, which began in 1984, grew out of the Kamehameha Elementary Education Program

(KEEP). Since 1971 KEEP, founded by KS/BE to develop better approaches to teaching language arts to children of Hawaiian descent, and the Hawaii Department of Education have worked together to bring new culturally sensitive curricula and teaching strategies to thousands of students (Speidel, 1993).

PETOM, which was awarded a five-year accreditation by the State of Hawaii in 1988, followed standards of the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification (NASDTEC). PETOM evolved from a small pilot program, geared initially toward enhancing field experience, into an experimental teacher preparation program, then into a full-fledged alternative teacher preparation program. By 1991, the College of Education removed PETOM from the experimental category and approved it as a permanent alternative program leading to a bachelor's of education degree in elementary education (Speidel, 1993).

A goal of PETOM is to recruit and educate candidates who will make a long-term commitment to teaching in their home communities where there has been a historically high teacher turnover in schools with high concentrations of underachieving minority children. PETOM students are not chosen on the basis of high text scores. They are carefully selected for their commitment to teaching children of different cultural backgrounds and for their conviction that as teachers they can make a difference with these children. The Waianae Coast recruitment program, designed to respond to the long-standing problem of high teacher turnover in many Leeward District schools, has unique features. PETOM, in collaboration with Leeward Community College and Kamehameha Schools, has appealed directly to qualified residents of the Waianae Coast and facilitated their enrollment in teacher education at the University of Hawaii (Speidel, 1993).

PETOM brings together as its faculty a group of educators from the program development branch of Kamehameha Schools' Early Education Division and from various academic disciplines within the UHCOE. Despite their varied academic and professional backgrounds, PETOM faculty are similar in vital ways, they model those strategies which

they want their preservice students to use. They hold similar beliefs about teaching underachieving minority students and the preparation needed for effectively teaching these children. They realize the importance of extensive communication with each other and make time for the exchange of ideas; and they share responsibility for the growth of their students. These beliefs form the foundation for many of PETOM's distinctive features (Speidel, 1993).

The training of teachers in the PETOM program utilizes two kinds of adaptations which teachers can make to enable children from different cultural groups to become successful. Both cultural specific adaptations, which vary among cultures, and adaptations that remain constant across underachieving minority groups, language development and contextualized instruction, are emphasized. PETOM teaches prospective teachers how culture specific learning styles, values, motivations, and patterns of interacting can be used to educational advantage. Students also explore how they might alter their teaching behaviors, classroom organization, and interactional patterns to make their classroom environments compatible with the home cultures of their pupils. PETOM regards language development as a pervasive need which children must acquire in order to compete in verbal/analytic situations. While instructing subject matter, students learn about using precise language and conversational techniques so that they can promote language among their pupils throughout the day. Ways to make instruction contextualized and more meaningful for children include: inquiry, experiential learning, cooperative learning, discussion, making connections, and attending to individual needs (Speidel, 1993).

PETOM prepares future teachers to meet the challenge of helping children from different cultural groups achieve academically while maintaining a sense of identity. To create ideal learning environments for children from different cultural backgrounds teachers are trained to focus on several dimensions on which cultures differ in ways relevant to learning: motivation, learning styles, interaction patterns, sociolinguistic patterns and

language. A primary focus is the adaptation of curriculum materials and teaching/learning processes to bridge home and school cultures (Chattergy, 1993).

In a cohort model, PETOM students go through two years of study as a unified group. The cohort approach fosters coehsiveness and helps to build relationships among the future teachers, enabling them to feel comfortable about learning from each other. Through participation in learning groups PETOM students discover that their peers can provide useful feedback and can help in problem solving, setting the stage for later team teaching and openness to feedback from other teachers. Relationships developed in PETOM cohorts provide a supportive network, especially among new teachers, which helps to maintain and enhance effective practices (Speidel, 1993).

One of the teacher education cohorts in the UHCOE is KaLama, established in 1995. The primary purpose of KaLama is to improve the education of Hawaiian students in public schools on the Leeward Coast of Oahu, by recruiting and training teachers with a commitment to that area. On the Leeward Coast, where there is a high rate of poverty, two thirds of the students are Hawaiian children who as a group typically score in the bottom quartile on standardized tests of reading and mathematics. Many of the Leeward Coast teachers, only 10% of whom are Hawaiian, do not live in that area, and there is a high rate of teacher turnover. KaLama participants include 28 preservice teachers enrolled in the first cohort and the mentor teachers who work with them in seven elementary schools on the Leeward Coast. About two thirds of the preservice teachers are of Hawaiian ethnicity; the others are of Samoan, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and European American ethnicity (AU & Maaka, 1998).

KaLama has procured the services of a skilled group of mentor teachers dedicated to supporting its mission to improve education on the Leeward Coast. Mentor teachers work closely with university faculty to plan and provide valuable field experiences for preservice teachers. Workshops and graduate courses, particularly in the areas of literacy learning and teaching, curriculum issues, and multicultural education, are being offered to

mentor teachers. This professional support is intended to establish a cadre of mentor teachers whose classroom programs are consistent with the practices and philosophies introduced in university course work. Mentor teachers serve as effective role models for preservice teachers and create culturally sensitive learning environments in which they are trained (Au & Maaka, 1998).

University of Hawaii courses for KaLama emphasize the themes of literacy, multicultural education, and Hawaiian culture. Hawaiian culture and multicultural education are emphasized because of the importance of Hawaiian studies and culturally responsive instruction in making connections between the curriculum and the home culture of the children. Guest speakers from the local community are integrated into the courses and preservice teachers serve a two-week internship at the Cultural Learning Center at Ka'ala, teaching Hawaiian studies to groups of elementary students visiting the center (Au & Maaka, 1998).

Maori Education

Statistical data compiled over the twentieth century from New Zealand school records such as class rolls, progress and achievement registers, school certificate results, and university entrance results all serve to reveal a huge disparity between achievement and retention for indigenous Maori students and non-Maori students. Rather than narrowing, the educational gap between these two groups was still widening in the early 1990's. The continued growth of this disparity between Maori and non-Maori in school entry, duration of stay, and academic achievement is a crisis recognized by the government of New Zealand. The pattern of disparity has become so commonplace, however, that it has been accepted as the norm by New Zealand society (Jenkins, 1994).

Else (1997) suggests several reasons for Maori underachievement in education which can be attributed to the New Zealand system of education, to the Maori people themselves, and to their unique situation. No single reason for the education gap has been

identified, and reasons seem to change for Maori students as they move through the education system. Research, however, indicates that the gap in family economics and educational resources between Maori and non-Maori is a very important reason. About two-thirds of the education gap appears to be attributable to the fact that Maori parents have less money and less education than non-Maori parents. Research suggests that, apart from family resources, the other main reason for the education gap may be a combination of barriers at school and the negative way in which older Maori students, especially boys, react to school. Some identified barriers to Maori students at school include: racist comments by other students, the difficulty some non-Maori teachers have with understanding Maori children, and the small number of Maori teachers. The research, however, does not show exactly how these barriers disadvantage Maori students or what to do about them.

In the 1985 Maori language claim brought before the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal, the Tribunal determined that the Maori word "taonga," which the Crown was obliged to protect under the Treaty, covered both tangible and intangible matters. Language was defined as a treasured possession essential to culture. The Tribunal further decided that the word "guarantee" in the treaty required that active steps be taken by the government to ensure that the Maori people retain full undisturbed and exclusive possession of their culture and language (Walker, 1990).

Throughout the course of New Zealand history, the Maori people have been unable to control their formal education. Everything in schooling has been decided for them by a Pakeha (European) system. The Pakeha system of education was once supported by many Maori, including the famous leader Apirana Ngata, as a means of social and economic advancement which would promote equality of the races. The Pakeha system, however, became a replacement for rather than an addition to Maori cultural values. The Western culture of individualism was replacing the Maori culture based on community. As a result, the Pakeha system of education has produced generations of underachievement and failures

for Maori who now are relegated to the bottom of the economic strata of New Zealand society (Stewart, 1992).

The most common and most powerful method of traditional Maori teaching is one-to-one in which the learner observes the demonstration of a more competent person and learns by imitating what is being modeled. Maori children are drawn into real-life situations by adults where the children can learn when they are ready and when they want to. The natural setting provides a cultural framework and a pattern of a cultural coherence. The emphasis on learning rather than teaching places a great deal of the onus for learning on the child (Kent & Besley, 1990).

The majority of Maori students are whole concept learners who prefer to begin with the big picture before moving to details. Explanations are clearer for them when they move from the whole to the part. Breaking up learning into a series of minute hurdles can be discouraging for Maori students who may not see where it is leading. When explanations move from the whole to the part they are clearer to Maori students. Although all learning styles are found in Maori children as well as in all other groups of people, the majority of Maori and other children learn most easily through the learning styles traditionally practiced by their own cultural group. Maori tend to be visual learners who prefer to model demonstration by the teacher. They also like learning through stories, pictures, and activities (Walter, Phillips, Olliver, and Gilliland, 1993).

Wait time for student response is very important since Maori etiquette often requires a lapse of time before a response. Taking time and deliberation throughout a conversation implies that what the other person says is worthy of consideration. In diverse classrooms with both Maori and Pakeha students, Maori students may seldom have the opportunity to speak unless the teacher is responsive to this cultural difference. In Maori culture time is with us. Maori are not dictated to by the clock; they believe things should be done as needed. The time orientation of Maori is that they are facing a familiar past while being overtaken by an uncertain future. Maori tend to think that Pakeha are so dissatisfied with

the present and so future focused, that they do not enjoy the present to the fullest. Among Maori people patience and the ability to wait quietly are valued characteristics (Walters, Phillips, Olliver & Gilliland, 1993).

The Maori traditional way of teaching children occurred within the circle of the extended family. The learning of children was the shared responsibility of the entire extended family and each generation of kin performed specific teaching tasks. Grandparents and their generation were responsible for teaching relationships, genealogies, and tribal history to children by telling them stories and by singing songs. This is consistent with the Maori world view that you go forward best by looking back. The parents and their generation were responsible for teaching the practical skills of life such as use and knowledge of the environment. Learning in traditional Maori society was holistic, embracing spiritual, social, and physical aspects of life. Maori learning, which was not time-oriented, emphasized mastery of the task rather than the time for task completion. This traditional pattern of learning still exists in many Maori homes and communities and is the means by which traditional culture is transmitted. A major principle of this type of learning is that, even though individuals may be allowed considerable choice, their individuality must be expressed within the context of the group. Cooperative group learning for Maori students raises self-esteem, enhances student achievement, and builds better attitudes toward school (Kent & Besley, 19901).

Four types of teaching strategies can be identified in New Zealand schools: traditional, bicultural, bilingual, and holistic. In traditional teaching, which has been the norm, knowledge is treated as though it is culture free with no consideration given to cultural differences and expected responses based upon the needs and experiences of Pakeha students. Bicultural teaching is sensitive to Maori customs such as not touching the head of a student, not sitting on a table, and accepting downcast eyes as a sign of respect. Bilingual teaching, which is also bicultural, uses Maori language wherever possible.

Holistic teaching, which is traditional Maori education, does not divide learning into subject areas but integrates the academic disciplines (Begg, 1988).

Since Maori students do not like to be singled out as different from their peers, group work rather than individual competitive activities is more effective for them. In Maori families children are not encouraged to ask questions of elders or superiors. For Maori students, who tend not to question authority, groups should be encouraged to formulate questions where explanations by the teacher are required (Begg, 1988).

Student self-esteem is a major concern for teachers of many Maori children who have become convinced that they will not succeed. Although many Maori students have a higher self-concept than their non-Maori peers before they enter school, they fall far behind later on when there is no Maori content in the school program. Too many Maori children lack confidence in problem solving and approach each new challenge with the anticipation that they will perform poorly or fail. In order to build self-esteem and confidence in Maori students, teachers must show respect for students and their culture and integrate Maori values into their teaching. Watching students closely to see that they do the right thing shows a lack of trust in them. It is considered disrespectful and destroys self-esteem (Walters, Phillips, Olliver & Gilliland, 1993).

For teachers who are unfamiliar with Maori body language, non-verbal communication also can present a problem. In some Polynesian societies a person can look you in the eye only if you are on equal footing. In some Maori groups direct eye contact is an act of defiance or aggression. For some Maori, looking down is a sign of preserving their own status and dignity as human beings while it permits those in authority to retain the illusion of having their own way. Persistently looking at another person is intrusive while the downcast eye is courteous. Maori, unless they are quite acculturated, are more likely to look in another direction rather than at each other while in conversation (Walters, Phillips, Olliver, & Gilliland, 1993).

Ignorance and misunderstanding of Maori language, cultural values, and preferred learning practices on the part of non-Maori educators has been identified as an important challenge to be addressed. Language and cultural identity are only slowly being recognized by schools as powerful factors influencing the learning and behavior of New Zealand students. Interestingly, with the increasing numbers of refugee, immigrant, and international fee-paying students, New Zealand secondary schools are acknowledging the need to modify curriculum and instructional strategy to accommodate cultural and language differences. Many schools are slower to acknowledge the same needs, however, when it comes to accommodating the cultural and language needs of their own native Maori students (Glynn, 1997).

A teacher's life is difficult in classrooms with a diverse student population. It is especially difficult for well-intentioned non-Maori teachers to include Maori content in the curriculum while avoiding cultural prohibitions. Other problems relate to the relationships between adults and children which are much more authoritarian in Maori and pacific island cultures than in typical contemporary Western society. The dilemma faced by many non-Maori teachers is that they may be accused of neglecting Maori culture on one hand, or of treating it insensitively if they should violate cultural prohibitions. Some educators minimize the conflict between traditional Maori learning and the New Zealand classroom by utilizing child-centered learning which is cooperative and non-competitive (Partington, 1997).

Hei Awhina Matua, a research project which aimed to establish bicultural partnership strategies for overcoming behavioral and learning difficulties faced by Maori students, was commissioned by the New Zealand Ministry of Education in 1994. It called for the development of an approach which would promote cooperation and collaboration between Maori students, their parents, and teachers through the sharing of detailed information as well as human resources and skills. A behavior management system was implemented which used principles which were compatible with Maori culture. Direct

observation data showed increased levels of appropriate student behavior on the playground and in the classroom. A higher level of teacher presence on the playground also was revealed by the research data (Glynn, 1997).

Although there is some evidence that culturally sensitive education does benefit Maori students, support for biculturalism in new Zealand is far from unanimous. New Zealand's Education Forum (1998) questions the effectiveness of Maori education. It warns against the uncritical acceptance of the idea that Maori need different teaching methods than non-Maori and are therefore likely to fail in mainstream schools. The Education Forum states that "we are not aware of any specific pedagogies that apply particularly to Maori children and not to other New Zealand children " (p. 99). Recognized, however, is that emphasis on Maori language and culture may have a very positive effect on the education of Maori children by stimulating greater parental concern and involvement. According to the Forum, Maori-medium schooling, which might appeal to Maori activists and politicians, may actually disadvantage Maori children and widen the gap in academic achievement. The Forum concludes that "in the absence of a sound research basis, the ministry, in promoting Maori-medium teaching, may be indulging in wishful thinking and taking an irresponsible gamble with the education of some of our most educationally disadvantaged children" (p. 99). The Forum calls for the dissemination of government-supported research into the effectiveness of education, including Maori-medium education, so that parents can choose where the balance of advantage lies for their own children.

Since the mid 1970's there has been a proliferation of Maori education programs within the New Zealand public education system and through separate Maori initiatives. Three programs have been established in new Zealand for Maori pupils to participate in Maori language and cultural programs. Taha Maori, first introduced into selected schools in 1975, consists of Maori strands to be integrated into the existing curriculum and taught in English plus very basic instruction in Maori language. Since bilingual education first

was introduced in 1977, more than 20 bilingual schools and more than 150 other bilingual classes have been established. Maori total language immersion programs have expanded greatly since their introduction in 1977. A major impediment to introduction of these programs has been the shortage of teachers fluent in Maori language and culture. Maori initiatives in education since 1980 have led to the development of early childhood and primary schools for the preservation of Maori language and cultural traditions and for the advancement of student achievement. With a ground swell of support from Maori communities, 609 such centers served more than 12,000 children by 1990. Programs are based upon Maori knowledge and Maori pedagogy. To compensate for teacher shortages, itinerant resource teachers of Maori have been employed with each teacher servicing a cluster of schools (Jenkins & Ka'ai, 1994).

Maori perspectives have been integrated into all aspects of mainstream New Zealand school organization and curriculum with two main expectations. It is expected that bicultural education of Taha Maori will validate Maori culture and language in the minds of non-Maori New Zealanders, and it is expected that it will help Maori students feel a greater sense of identity and self-worth which may enhance their educational achievements as well. Research conducted in Otago and Southland schools suggests that bicultural education is having a positive effect on non-Maori respect for Maori cultural tradition but a limited effect on Maori students, perhaps because programs lack a Maori perspective (Holmes, 1992).

Taha Maori, while important for the education of all New Zealand children, has a limited potential for students who are already immersed in Maori life. Many Maori parents see Taha Maori as a shallow, watered down view of Maori culture which does not validate the deeper underpinnings of Maori knowledge. Taha Maori is seen as a barrier to the fundamental structures of both Pakeha knowledge and Maori knowledge by some Maori parents, many of whom have become involved in other Maori cultural initiatives such as pre-school language immersion (L.S. Smith, 1992). In addition, social amnesia in relation to Maori-Pakeha relations is cultivated within the overall school curriculum by concealing

past social injustices. Not only are Pakeha then relieved of the burden of addressing those injustices, but the understanding of Maori-Pakeha relation is distorted by the vacuum in historical knowledge (Simon, 1990).

As New Zealand moves toward the ideal of biculturalism, Pakeha are expected to be as proficient in understanding Maori culture as Maori are in understanding Pakeha culture. In many New Zealand schools, especially where there is a five percent or smaller minority of Maori students, social education programs are planned and taught from a monocultural Pakeha perspective however. For Maori students there is more likely to be a discontinuity between the common sense everyday knowledge of the home community and the knowledge presented by the school. Movement toward biculturalism involves more than just curriculum content integration. It also includes two other aspects of education which reflect the knowledge code of a culture - the way in which knowledge is transmitted (pedagogy) and the way the system measures the success of knowledge transmission (evaluation) (Kent & Besley, 1990).

Graham Smith (1997) identifies a significant outcome of the struggle since 1980 over the legitimacy of the New Zealand schooling and education system in that increasing numbers of Maori are beginning to opt out of the system because they have become increasingly suspicious of whose interest schools and the education system really serve. State schools and education now are understood by many Maori as political and cultural sites which contain contested knowledge, multiple relations of power, and domination. This Maori view of education is validated by research conducted by Simon (1990) who has concluded that schooling of Maori has contributed significantly to the securing and maintenance of Pakeha economic and political dominance throughout New Zealand history. Control of Maori access to knowledge has been of particular significance. The school has been one of the sites of Maori-Pakeha struggle, with Maori resistance playing an important role in the shaping of school policies and practices.

In general, Simon (1990) believes that the schools continue to control and to limit Maori access to knowledge and thereby help to maintain the asymmetry in Pakeha-Maori relations. The multicultural policies instituted by the Ministry of Education are ideological responses to Maori activism which, while creating an appearance of change and of commitment to Maori interests, have in essence functioned to maintain the asymmetry in social relations. Initial Maori thirst for Pakeha knowledge changed, after a century, to resistance or to apathy. Maori, in embracing Pakeha schooling, always were seeking to improve their life chances and to gain greater control over their lives. As the promise of Pakeha schooling failed to materialize, Maori disillusionment with Pakeha schooling grew. Pakeha schools and the knowledge they teach, when perceived by Maori students as embodying Pakeha authority and control, are treated with distrust and resistance. When some Maori students resist Pakeha knowledge they help to maintain their own deficiency of power however.

Maori students are still disadvantaged by the way they are sorted, classified, and evaluated. Low teacher expectations of Maori students produces negative outcomes and denies Maori access to knowledge for social and economic mobility. Pakeha schooling has alienated Maori from their culture and language without providing them with enough European knowledge to compete economically with the Pakeha (Simon, 1990).

New Zealand cultural assimilation and integration policies have been questioned by Maori critics since the late 1960's. Many Maori increasingly have come to believe that the education system deliberately has undermined Maori culture and language and that this has lowered the self-esteem of Maori students. The decision made in the early 1980's, for the most part by Pakeha administrators, to introduce a Maori dimension (Taha Maori) into the primary and secondary school curriculum was met with skepticism and distrust because of a lack of Maori control over the what, how, and by whom it was to be taught. The Maori, disenchanted with the state school system, embarked on their own educational reform program. Te Kohanga Reo ('the language nursery') which began immersing pre-schoolers

in Maori language in 1981, experienced a spectacular growth rate. Bilingual Kura Kaupapa Maori primary schools, which operated initially outside of the state school system, then were established to provide Te Kohanga Reo graduates with continued instruction in Maori knowledge, language, and culture while adhering to national curriculum guidelines (Openshaw, 1993).

Kura Kapapa Maori can be viewed as an initiative by Maori parents to use schooling as a means of engaging in their historical struggle to preserve their language and culture. It also may be seen as an attempt by Maori people to reconstruct history and to move beyond its constraints. Kura Kaupapa Maori is concerned with curriculum issues, not so much with matters of specific content, but with the wider context decision-making such as knowledge selection, transmission, and evaluation. Kura Kaupapa Maori is an attempt to transform patterns of past educational experiences for Maori children into a pedagogy which offers greater academic achievement and better life chances for the Maori people and for Maori society (L. Smith, 1992). With Maori language and culture established at the pre-school and primary levels, the next step is to provide Maori students in secondary schools with education based upon Kaupapa Maori theory.

Kaupapa Maori theory is derived from and attempts to give support to Maori cultural values, practices, and thought as expressed by what many Maori individuals do as part of their lived reality. Kaupapa Maori as a meaningful theory of change has three significant components - conscientisation, resistance, and praxis - which are sufficient only when they work together collectively as one package. Conscientisation, an educational and liberating process for reflection and action, is the concern to reveal, analyze, and deconstruct critically existing practices and hegemonies which entrench Pakeha-dominant cultural, economic, social, gender, and political privilege. Resistance is forming shared understandings and experiences in order to derive a sense of collective politics and to respond collectively to dominant structures of oppression and exploitation. Praxis is undertaking transformative action to evolve change, and it is concerned with developing

meaningful change by intervening and by making a difference. Kaupapa Maori transformative praxis, as implied in the notion of praxis, is a process which is ongoing, dynamic, and evolving with transformative potential. Maori resistance and transformative endeavors, when reacting to state initiatives as moving targets, need to be flexible while being proactive across multiple sites to create moving targets for the government (G. Smith, 1997). Kaupapa Maori Theory includes six intervention elements intended to infuse the validity and legitimacy of Maori culture into Maori education. Self-determination, which includes participation, involvement, and autonomy, gives Maori people control over the education of their children. Cultural aspirations emphasizes the importance of Maori culture, language, and knowledge. Culturally preferred pedagogy teaches to Maori learning styles and customary home learning where older children look after younger siblings. Mediation of wider socio-economic and home difficulties means working together collaboratively for the benefit of the Maori community. Family structure emphasizes cultural support networks within the extended family for Maori to assist each other. Collective vision of cultural revitalization and educational achievement (Kaupapa) is the vision created by the theory (G. Smith, 1999).

The theory and praxis of Kaupapa Maori is primarily an educational strategy evolving out of Maori communities as a means to comprehend, resist, and transform crises related to Maori student under achievement and erosion of Maori culture, knowledge and language. The emphasis on transformation acknowledges the central importance of the work schools do covertly with respect to the hidden curriculum as well as the teaching and learning function which they do overtly. The hidden curriculum operates through many levels and processes which include: epistemology, agenda setting, election of whose knowledge, control of discourse, and control of examination processes. Key points are the ways in which schools maintain social divisions, exercise social control, and perpetuate dominant cultural interests through differential provision of schooling. The hidden curriculum maintains cultural divisions within society through subtle controls exerted in the

way which every-day norms, beliefs, and values are inscribed in students' routines, rules, and classroom practices. The net effect of this hidden curriculum on Maori students has been the maintenance of existing inequalities and the preservation of the multiple interests of the dominant Pakeha society (G. Smith, 1997). Kaupapa Maori theory and Praxis aims to enhance Maori academic achievement while maintaining Maori language, culture, and knowledge.

Anangu Teacher Education Program

The Anangu Teacher Education Program (AnTEP) is a community based teacher education program run by the University of South Australia through the Faculty of Aboriginal and Islander Studies. Anangu is a term common to Aboriginal languages of the western desert and used by the people of the area to refer to themselves. AnTEP prepares Anangu students to become independent classroom teachers in their own community schools, and ultimately to become part of the decision-making body that controls education in their own communities. AnTEP, which commenced with its first intake of ten Aboriginal students in 1984, graduated more than 100 students who completed one or more course stages by 1999. A number of graduates are now teaching independently in their own community schools (Anangu Teacher Education Program, 1997).

AnTEP operates on-site in a number of remote communities in South Australia. Students come from communities located in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara (AP) lands in the northwest corner of the state of South Australia as well as Yalata on the far west coast of South Australia. Lectures are located on the AP lands, at Yalata, and in Adelaide at the Underdale campus of the University of South Australia. AnTEP is designed to meet the specific needs of Aboriginal people who are committed to becoming teachers, living in and/or accepted for teacher education by the communities where the course is conducted. Graduates of the two-year Diploma of Education program are employed as Anangu Education Workers (teachers aids) in Anangu schools. Graduates of the three-year Bachelor of Teaching program are employed as teachers in Anangu schools. With

additional preparation, graduates can earn full certification to teach in the schools of the State of South Australia (Underwood, 1999).

AnTEP believes that the best teachers for Anangu communities are Anangu teachers. This is because Anagu bring to schools specialist skills, relationships, knowledge and understandings that non-Anangu teachers do not have. These include:

1. Having family ties to Anangu communities and the respect of the Anangu living in their communities.
2. Having long-term commitments to their own communities, and a willingness to work in Anagu schools over extended periods.
3. Having insights into Anangu communities and understandings about their social, cultural, educational and political aspirations and concerns.
4. Having fluency in the local Aboriginal language of their community, whether it be Pitjantjatjara or yankunytjatjara (which is often the only language spoken by Anagu children on entering school).
5. Having the ability to assist non-Anangu working in Anangu schools and communities, and being able to act as "cultural brokers" between schools, communities and outside agencies.
6. Having the language skills and cultural understandings that are required for effective behavior management of Anangu students in schools.
7. Being more able to discern what is relevant and appropriate curriculum for Anangu schools, as well as insights into other special curriculum needs.
8. Having the knowledge and understanding to negotiate and develop a culturally appropriate pedagogy for Anangu schools.
9. Having the ability to break down some of the barriers that exist (or have built up) between schools and Anangu communities.
10. Having access to and understandings of the power-making bodies in local Anangu communities (Underwood, 1999).

AnTEP believes that the process of Aboriginalisation of schools in the Anangu-Pitjantjatjatjara Lands is very important. This is because of all the reasons stated above, and also because it is important for Anangu to be seen in positions of power and authority in schools in their own communities so that younger Anangu develop a positive self-esteem and a strong sense of worth in society.

AnTEP believes that the design and delivery of this course should be conducted in close cooperation with the communities it serves and in collaboration with the decision making bodies that exist in Anangu communities. AnTEP is committed to a curriculum that is culturally relevant and culturally inclusive, believing that to be essential for success.

AnTEP believes that contemporary Anangu culture is dynamic, and it is adapting and developing all of the time. Culture is not seen by AnTEP as a static construct that is easily defined and described. It is viewed as something that is emerging, adjusting and changing all of the time, particularly as different aspects of the so-called western world encroach more and more on the lives of Anangu.

AnTEP believes that while English remains the main language of instruction in the course, that the students' own language must be valued and included. The program aims of AnTEP include the following:

1. To provide a teacher education program which will enable Anangu and other Aboriginal students to gain formal qualifications leading to registration as a teacher.
2. To enable students to develop the specialist skills necessary for presenting effective programs in Anangu schools, following directions and approaches set by local communities.
3. To provide Anangu schools with graduates who can bring their cultural experience to the classroom, and who can better represent community expectations in the school context.
4. To provide graduates who may present a more stable teaching force in Anangu communities.

5. To provide quality courses and appropriate qualifications for those students who want to develop skills and knowledge related to working as Anangu Education Workers, but who do not want to become fully qualified teachers.
6. To enable students to reside in their home community while undertaking study within the program.
7. To enable Anangu communities to assist in the design of curriculum, the teaching of subjects and the operation of the program; and to ensure that the AnTEP program is inclusive of Anangu perspectives.
8. To provide an appropriate basis for the ongoing professional and career development of graduates (Underwood, 1999).

The AnTEP course has three stages, each consisting of 12 three-point subjects, totaling 36 points per stage. A Certificate in Anangu Education is awarded after stage one, and the Diploma of Education (Anangu Education) is awarded after stage two. A Bachelor of Teaching (Anangu Education) is awarded on the completion of stage three.

Students are normally expected to complete the three stages of the course within three to six years, depending on whether study is undertaken on a part-time or full-time basis. Part-time students are often already employed within local schools as teaching aids.

Each subject generally comprises three modules. A third of the modules are offered as intensive week-long workshops, while the remainder are course work, or teaching experience modules conducted in the classroom.

Each stage has five curriculum strands:

1. Teaching Studies (the theory & practice of teaching)
2. Curriculum Studies (English language & literacy studies plus mathematics)
3. Cultural Studies (Aboriginal language & cultural studies)
4. Community and Environment Studies (on society, health & the environment)
5. Academic Skills (personal language, mathematics and research skills)

The teaching which AnTEP has developed has constantly been breaking new ground both in its approach to the curriculum and in its exploration of teaching methods which are successful with traditionally oriented students. Teaching methods within AnTEP entail the following five basic philosophies, built around the belief that teaching methodology needs to:

1. be contextualised -- culturally and classroom-based;
2. proceed from practice to theory;
3. be part of a negotiated process;
4. model sound primary teaching methodology which students can adopt as teachers in their own rights;
5. be included in the evaluation procedures of the program.

Culturally appropriate teaching methods are employed by all staff. Multimedia delivery is used to complement face-to-face teaching (Underwood, 1999).

Conclusions and Implications for Teaching and Teacher Education

Comparative education allows us to investigate educational programs in other nations and, where appropriate, borrow good ideas and replicate effective programs. International comparison allows us to identify principles of education which are universal and anomalies which are unsuitable for replication in other settings. This report summarizes research findings from teacher preparation models in three nations and suggests ways in which lessons learned can be applied in other teacher education programs. Three prominent models for preparing teachers of minorities in the U.S., New Zealand, and Australia are compared in an effort to identify and disseminate lessons learned which may enhance the preparation of teachers in other venues.

Research, conducted during a spring 1999 sabbatical leave, reports two important findings. First, preparing teachers to deliver curriculum and instruction which is sensitive and responsive to the culture of students yields higher student achievement. Secondly, it is

more efficient and more effective to train minority teachers who know the language and culture than it is to teach the language and culture to non-minority teachers.

The academic underachievement of students from many minority groups continues while minority educators are underrepresented in the teaching profession. Surely there is a relationship, perhaps an interaction, between these pressing concerns. In innovative teacher preparation programs around the world, creative educators are recruiting prospective teachers and training them to meet the needs of students who are culturally different. At the University of Hawaii, the Preservice Education for Teachers of Minorities program prepares teachers to deliver instruction which is compatible with the culture of native Hawaiian students. At the University of Auckland, teachers are trained to teach native Maori students in New Zealand schools which are officially bicultural and bilingual.

The Anagu Teacher Education program at the University of South Australia prepares Aboriginal Australians as teacher aids and certified teachers for Aboriginal children. Comparative study of these programs reveals important data and lessons learned which can be used to recruit minority persons into the teaching profession and to prepare all teachers to present curriculum and instruction which is culturally responsive.

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